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ABSTRACT

This paper assesses, by reference to contemporary issues of the "Radio Times" and the London edition of the "TV Times," the way in which Independent Television (ITV) separated itself from the traditional middle class attitudes typified by the British Broadcasting Company programs and, instead, expressed through its programming Americanized (i.e., Hollywood) values of affluence, glamour, attainment, and conspicuous consumption, promoting them as natural and legitimate companions of the decade's relative prosperity. This discussion of the "Americanization" of the new channel, which was introduced in 1955, emphasizes the use of American personalities to incorporate Americanized values in its programs in an attempt to attract large, newly affluent audiences. It is argued that the resulting cult of personality and the sense that an individual needed to attain affluence in order to achieve "success" and social mobility were intensified by the new channel. The important role of ITV in the growth of television by the early 1960s from an elite novelty into a mass medium is attributed largely to its transmission expressing these attitudes. Five tables and a 58-item list of references are appended. (CGD)

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British Television in the 1950's;

I.T.V. and the Cult of Personality

BY

Keith Bartlett

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During the first ten years after the end of World War Two, British culture continued to be dominated by traditional middle-class attitudes which were typified by those conveyed by the BBC. However, new values were spreading as Britain began to emerge from the so-called "Age of Austerity".[1] These showed similarities with values conveyed by American popular culture; indeed, the 1950's have been seen as a period in which a loosely-defined "Americanisation" affected British values and outlooks, creating a "brash, standardised mass culture"[2] whose tenor was marked by the Hollywood values of affluence, glamour, attainment, and conspicuous consumption. Independent Television, which appeared in 1955, can be seen as a prime force behind Americanisation, signalling an apparently complete acceptance of "transatlantic", American-style values and attitudes, and promoting them as natural and legitimate companions of the decade's (relative) prosperity.

The ideological implications of ITV's style of programming were of concern to many critics. The 1950's were witnessing America's strengthening of its role as a world media imperialist, providing capital and technology for the establishment of radio and TV organisations in many poor countries, and then filling their airwaves with packaged, lightweight, yet often well-produced drama and entertainment programmes. Fears for Britain's cultural integrity were expressed in, for example, a report in the Daily Telegraph in May 1960, concerning a BBC documentary producer who was researching links between ITV executives and American financiers.[3]

The expansion in the popularity of television during the 1950's, and the consequent multiplication of its ability to enter and influence people's everyday lives, was huge. With a few

exceptions, however, analyses of British television in the 1950's have tended to concentrate on the BBC at the expense of ITV. In broader studies of post-war Britain, the "Americanism" of the new channel has been alluded to, but it has not been closely analysed, and it is the broad intention of this paper to contribute to a redressing of the balance.[4] ITV provided a crucial passage - or, literally, a channel - through which Americanisation was able to affect Britain, and the commercial television network can be seen as both a reflector and a promoter of changes in British society. This is not to imply either that the values promoted by ITV were automatically subscribed to by lethargic, war-weary British audiences, or that Americanisation has necessarily been negative in its long-term consequences.

Part of the aim of this paper is to assess, by reference to contemporary issues of the Radio Times and the London edition of the TV Times, the ways in which ITV broke with the BBC's middle-class attitudes and, instead, expressed the Americanised, "Hollywood-style" values referred to above through its programming. More specifically, analysis will be made of ITV's use of personalities; its promotion, in fact, of a "cult of personality" which incorporated these values in an attempt to attract large, newly-affluent audiences. It is hoped that this will enable ITV in the 1950's to be seen more clearly on its own terms, in its own context - British and populist, as well as "transatlantic" and "Americanised" - rather than as a low-brow poor cousin of the BBC.

AFFLUENCE AND POPULAR BROADCASTING: THE EMERGENCE OF ITV

When the BBC resumed its television transmissions after the Second World War, its approach to programming continued to reflect the traditions established when John Reith was the

Corporation's managing director in the 1920's and 1930's. Reith had been appalled by the apparent lowness of appeal of the cinema and popular press. As an antidote, he developed for the BBC the so-called "public service" ethics of educating, informing, and entertaining, at the same time refusing to cater for popular taste.

In Britain until the 1950's, the owning of a television set was a luxury that only certain sections of the middle- and upper-classes could afford. Thus only a minority of the population was being reached by the BBC's television service. However, growth in the level of wages was bringing affluence to sections of the lower-classes, opening markets for goods and services that hitherto had been the preserve of the well-off. As early as 1946, during the Age of Austerity, the exhibition Britain Can Make It tempted potential consumers with goods that were not actually widely available. By 1951, when the Festival of Britain was held in celebration of Britain's post-war reconstruction and redevelopment, austerity was beginning to wane. The Festival addressed itself directly to the goal-orientations of an emerging "affluent society". The vitality of modern styles of architecture and design was stressed, because it was felt that this could bring to the masses the comfort and peace that had been denied them for so long.

The attractions of conspicuous consumption were boosted during the 1950's by increasingly sophisticated methods of advertising. ITV's influence upon consumerism would become considerable, particularly as a result of the advertisements it transmitted and the manner in which it emphasised personalities. Also highly significant for the spread of consumerism, as well as the reinforcement of traditional gender roles, were consumer-orientated magazines such as Ideal Home, and Woman.

Older magazines, such as Illustrated, began giving more emphasis to attainment and consumerism during the 1950's, and, by mid-decade, even Picture Post, previously better known for its high standard of reportage, was leaning more towards articles and advertisements stressing affluent values. Modernity and glamour played strong roles in all kinds of advertising material, but the manner in which they were communicated was influenced less by British traditions than by those from the United States.

Mass consumerism had taken hold in America at least twenty years previously to its emergence on a wide scale in Britain. Its apparent benefits for American society were made evident to the British public through American popular culture, taking the form of books, magazines, and especially films. Reinforced by the wartime presence of G.I.'s, who combined a sheer Americanism with a homely, patronising attitude towards the "old country", American values began to wield an increasingly strong influence in Britain. Much advertising material in British magazines and on ITV played upon the values attached to Hollywood stardom, because for many, stars were - and still are - the most durable and inspiring element of American culture. There had always been British film stars, but the values they conveyed were arguably less attractive for audiences than those of Americans. The appeal of Hollywood-style values was clear to British film production companies, who used them to attract audiences by promoting a British star system that elevated home-grown talent to the status of American performers. Such approaches were taken to enable British films to compete on a more equal footing with those from the United States, but more worrying for British producers was the fact that, during the 1950's, the size of audiences for films from both sides of the

Atlantic was actually decreasing.

Throughout the decade, the home was becoming the centre of activity for older-generation consumers, for whom affluence was making possible the purchase of durable goods like refrigerators, washing machines, furniture, and, increasingly, television sets. The social act of "going out" in one's leisure time seemed to lessen in significance; a side-effect of the long years of depression, war, and austerity, was that relaxing home-based leisure activities became an attractive proposition. There was, of course, one section of the population for whom the home, even though it was made comfortable by the trappings of affluence, was not a place in which to socialise. Consumerism was brought within reach of youths of school-leaving age because of high employment and wage levels. The fact that teenagers of the late 1950's had been too young to contribute to the post-war effort meant that, for them, the home was not so enticing an arena of activity. ITV, with its glossy American-style approach to audiences, set out to attract youth, but the main accent of teenage lifestyles and attitudes was on going out. Nevertheless, for a large proportion of the population, television displaced the radio and cinema as the most attractive medium of entertainment. But it did not achieve truly popular appeal until the breaking of the BBC's monopoly of broadcasting in 1955.

The BBC's monopoly had been criticised since the later 1940's on the grounds that the Corporation's policies were narrow and élitist. The Conservative Party was particularly vocal in its criticism, arguing that the post-war democracy projected by Attlee was simply an untruth if room was not allowed for competition in the broadcasting industry. In 1949, a committee was organised under Lord Beveridge to consider the future of

broadcasting. The Beveridge Committee, as well as monopolists within the Labour government and elsewhere, viewed the possible "Americanisation" of culture and attitudes with dread and horror, feeling that it would corrupt traditional English values with the perceived vulgarity of those expressed in popular culture from the United States. It was assumed that a new television channel would have to be commercially-based and, like American TV, reliant upon advertising revenue for its finances. Hence an alternative TV service to that of the BBC came to automatically signify "Americanisation" to critics of competitive broadcasting.

Apart from one notable exception, the members of Beveridge's committee saw no reason to end the BBC's monopoly of television broadcasting.[5] The Beveridge Report, though, rejected the BBC's arguments that its past achievements should allow it to continue unchanged, and that only a monopoly could have high standards and moral purpose.[6] There was even deliberation over whether any real justification could be made for not using such a potentially powerful medium as TV for the purposes of advertising. In fact, monopolists' arguments concerning the power of television simply provoked the question of whether it was right that the control of the medium should rest in the hands of a single organisation. Despite the fact that Beveridge ultimately came down on the BBC's side, he wanted the thorny issue of advertising on television to be kept open for debate.[7]

But the Beveridge Committee's recommendations were downgraded in October 1951, when the Conservative Party took power. The lobby that had already been started by young Tory backbenchers in favour of competitive broadcasting was intensified by support from individuals and organisations

outside the party, who stood to benefit from a commercial TV service in Britain, including the TV manufacturers Pye, and the American advertising agency J.Walter Thompson.[8] As well as the fact that the introduction of commercial television in Britain promised the expansion of the market for American consumer products, and for packaged American TV shows and telefilms, there was also a diplomatic aspect to the anti-monopoly campaign, in that the 1950's were witnessing Britain becoming increasingly uncertain over her role in world affairs, and correspondingly more reliant upon her "Special Relationship" with the United States. This helps to illuminate the ways in which American influence was able to affect British attitudes and values.[9]

In 1952, the Conservative government issued a memorandum on the Beveridge Report, in which it was unequivocally declared that competition should be allowed in broadcasting.[10] The following year, a White Paper was published, proposing the formation of a commercial television system, reliant upon advertising for its finances, to compete with the BBC. It was felt that so long as the new system was properly controlled, it would not cause any debasement of the standards attained by the BBC.[11] Significantly, the White Paper disallowed the use of the American technique of programme sponsorship by advertisers, feeling that this would interfere with programme standards.[12]

After much debate, the Television Act was finally passed in March 1954, ruling that revenue could be accrued from the selling of "spot advertising" time by the commercial television companies, who would be regulated by a new Independent Television Authority.[13] The Act also demanded high levels of "quality" and "balance" in programming, and one clause ordered that "proper" proportions of material had to be of British origin and

performance.[14] This can be seen as a clear attempt to stem the spread of American-style values in Britain. To add to the respectability of the new channel, Sir Kenneth Clark was appointed as the first Chairman of the Independent Television Authority.

The first Independent Television contract was awarded to ATV (Associated TeleVision), to broadcast London's weekend programmes and the weekday schedule for the Midlands. This group combined the talents of the impresarios Prince Littler, Val Parnell, Bernard Delfont, Lew and Leslie Grade, with those of an ex-BBC man, Norman Collins. The flamboyant business style of Littler, the Grade brothers, and Parnell, underlined the international show business stance that ITV would take. Sydney Bernstein of Granada, who won the Northern weekday franchise, had a more retiring public image, but his background in popular entertainment was as strong as those of the ATV executives. The Granada Group, parent company to the television organisation, was comprised partly of a large group of cinemas, many of which also had facilities for stage shows. Bernstein, however, also aimed to build up strong departments for drama, news and documentary within his TV company, particularly that which emphasised Northern culture.

The third ITV company was ABC (Associated Broadcasting Company), a branch of the Associated British Picture Corporation, and was set up by Howard Thomas, one of whose partners was C.J. Latta, an American with a background at Warner Brothers.[15] Thomas was another ex-BBC man, and had "invented" not only that channel's wartime radio Brains Trust , but also Vera Lynn, the latter being one of the few BBC personalities with truly popular appeal that cut across class boundaries. Thomas was determined

to build ABC's reputation on serious as well as light programming, and his most notable achievement was perhaps in the field of drama, with ABC's Armchair Theatre series. Nevertheless, his record of success with Vera Lynn suggested that he might emphasise personalities in ABC's programming, and this was confirmed in programmes like Top Tune Time. ABC got the franchise for weekend transmissions in the Midlands and the North.

The fourth main contractor in ITV's early years was Associated Rediffusion, transmitting London's weekday programmes under the chairmanship of Sir John Spencer Wills. In 1956, Wills announced his belief that television had absolutely no responsibility where education was concerned. This viewpoint was anathema not only to the BBC, who often tended to force educative programmes on their audiences at the expense of lighter material, but also to a more reserved ITV executive like Sydney Bernstein. Wills transmitted a certain proportion of serious programming, but he was more firmly in favour of light entertainment featuring star personalities as well as newly-discovered talent. "If an adult has the intelligence to elect an MP to rule him in peace and war," declared Wills, "he has the intelligence to elect what programme he wishes to see during his hours of leisure."[16]

ITV's transmissions to London and the Midlands began on the evening of September 22nd 1955, whilst May 3rd 1956 witnessed the start of Granada's transmissions in the Northern region. Smaller regional companies also opened and, despite criticism of the new service, by 1962 about 95% of the population was being reached by the new channel.[17]

ITV brought a new style to television broadcasting, and as Table 1 shows, an approach to audiences that soon took its toll on the BBC's viewership despite the fact that the "Big Four" programme companies suffered heavy financial losses in their first two years' operations.[18] The new channel did not escape censure. But many of the criticisms levelled at the ITV companies in the early years - whether due to the supposedly "low" level of their programmes' appeal, or to the fact that American material and stars were used more overtly than by the BBC - were themselves dubiously founded. For example, despite the fact that light entertainment was prominent, the companies gradually developed reputations for quality serious programming, as well as pioneering TV transmissions for schools. Also, Independent Television News (ITN) was innovative in the field of news and current affairs. Criticism of the quality of American programmes that were shown on ITV was to an extent one-sided, in that British critics were not afforded the opportunity of seeing many of the high quality TV dramas made and shown in the United States, such as Marty (USA, 1955, dir. Delbert Mann). Finally, the statistics illustrated in Table 1 suggest that whether critics liked it or not, the public was enjoying the fruits of the new channel. This is not, of course, to suggest that the public was necessarily being given what it wanted, or that programming of the type supplied by ITV was the only way of breaking the BBC's mould.

The BBC's Annual Reports and Accounts for the period claimed that the Corporation's purpose was that of "maintaining the widest possible range of programmes within its single television

service..."[19] Contemporary issues of the Radio Times showed the BBC fulfilling this policy, yet there was a bias in favour of more serious programmes. For example, Table 2 shows that between April 1956 and March 1957, 21.9% of transmissions were devoted to "Talks, demonstrations, and documentary programmes", whereas only 13.8% was given over to "Light entertainment, including musical comedy". The BBC's selection of programmes, and also the graphic style of the Radio Times, differed vastly from the vitality and sense of modernity that ITV managed to convey. The Corporation was clearly aware of the appeal of American-influenced material, for some of its quiz shows - notably, What's My Line? - were British versions of American originals. But because of its deep sense of itself as a responsible institution, the BBC erased all traces of American commercialism and consumerism from such programmes. Very little imported American material was in evidence.

Until 1956, the BBC was apparently loathe even to show American feature films. It is hard to find examples in editions of the Radio Times issued prior to that year, although the BBC's interest in the cinema was proven by its long-running magazine programme, Picture Parade. By 1956, possibly partly as a response to ITV, the BBC was evidently becoming more interested in programming entertainment with popular appeal. However, this development was still only tentative. Light material was available for viewers, typical examples being Hancock's Half Hour and The Jimmy Wheeler Show. Despite its lack of interest in the use of American or American-style programmes, the BBC was concerned with looking abroad for material. Annual Reports and Accounts from the second half of the 1950's recorded that the Corporation was making increasing numbers of Eurovision

transmissions, and that it was receiving Eurovision programmes from neighbouring countries.[20] The main implication of the BBC's policies for the style of its programming, was that a sense of "Britishness" was preserved, along with a feeling of middle-class reserve and stability which even permeated the Corporation's light entertainment and comedy material.

The fact that popular entertainment of the type programmed by ITV seemed to remain a stigma for the Corporation during the 1950's was not due simply to the fact that the BBC's policymakers were deeply ingrained with middle-class Reithian ethics. The Corporation was also watching and waiting to see how ITV would develop. In a sense the new channel acted as a guinea pig for the BBC, which was unlikely to drastically alter its programming policies if those of ITV did not prove successful with mass audiences. It would be unfair, though, to dismiss the BBC of the 1950's as a totally introspective, retrograde institution. The new American-influenced values of consumerism and attainment that were spreading during the decade were not accepted by all sections of society, and American popular culture was not universally attractive. By not subscribing to American-style values the BBC, like ITV, was representative of aspects of the social and cultural tenor of the 1950's.

From the start, ITV's programming was livelier than that of the BBC, mixing drama series like Emergency Ward 10 (Associated Rediffusion) and the documentary series Wide World, with more light entertainment than the Corporation had ever transmitted. Reliant as it was upon advertising revenue, ITV had to transmit a high proportion of programmes with mass appeal in order to survive. Hence the transmission of a considerable number of programmes that centred upon stars and personalities,

and the attractive values of affluence, attainment, modernity, and glamour, previously seen in American advertising and popular culture. The amount of serious material screened by ITV was lower than that of the BBC (Table 3), yet the quality of Independent Television's serious programming in its early years has often been undervalued, as has the regard in which the companies held it despite their concern to maximise audiences. ATV's About Religion was, in fact, the first religious programme broadcast in Britain on a regular basis. This was a creditable innovation on the part of ATV, which was often accused of being the most "lightweight" of the Independent Television companies.

The record in serious programming achieved by Granada in the first few years of its operations was particularly noteworthy. The company made its mark with current affairs series such as What The Papers Say and Youth Wants To Know, and drama also flourished with, for example, a production of Look Back In Anger being screened in 1957.

However, serious programming apart, ITV did use light entertainment to capture audiences. This policy was even admitted to by the Chairman of the Independent Television Authority, Sir Kenneth Clark, in an interview with Robin Day for ITN in 1956.[21] ITV's style of programming and its approach to the notion of personality showed a desire to promote transatlantic, American-style values at the expense of the more traditional British attitudes reinforced by the BBC. This approach resulted partly from the show business backgrounds of many Independent Television executives, and it was best seen in the glamour and high production values of two programme genres that the new channel transmitted more profusely than the BBC had ever done, and with a sense of commercialism that the Corporation

rigorously avoided.

The first type was the variety show, examples of which included Bernard Delfont presents Paris in Piccadilly and Chelsea at Nine (both Associated Rediffusion), and Sunday Night at the London Palladium (ATV). Variety on ITV displayed similarities not only with traditions of theatrical entertainment in Britain, but also with the high production values of Hollywood musicals. The expansiveness and flamboyance of some ITV executives - Lew Grade being a prime example - were in fact rooted in the show business ethics to which they subscribed, which themselves had parallels in traditions of American popular entertainment, notably vaudeville.

The other genre was that of the quiz show, which had proved to be highly popular with television audiences in the United States. By offering members of the public the opportunity to compete for prizes that came in the form of either cash or consumer durables, ITV's quiz programmes conveyed the values of attainment and consumerism even more vividly than its variety entertainments. Granada's record with quiz shows - for example, Spot the Tune and Make up your Mind (Table 4) - indicates that Sydney Bernstein was perhaps something of a dark horse when it came to light entertainment. This is especially the case when one considers Bernstein's oft-quoted policy statement, that "... we do not intend to pander to the lowest level of taste."[22] BBC quiz shows like the aforementioned What's My Line? were also popular, but they did not exploit the ideals of consumerist attainment.

The amount of American or British feature films shown by ITV was no more than that seen on BBC, but the new service transmitted many American telefilm series that were derived from

Hollywood genres. Thus Hollywood values were conveyed directly into viewers' front rooms, enhancing changes in attitudes during the 1950's. Notable programmes were the westerns, Gunsmoke, Wagon Train (both Associated Rediffusion), and later Rawhide: police series such as Highway Patrol (ATV); and screwball comedies like I Love Lucy (ATV).

Unfortunately for Independent Television's reputation with its critics and with the BBC, the new channel caused controversy for itself soon after transmissions began. ITV was successful with large audiences early on, but by the end of November 1955 it had become clear that audiences who were being attracted were simply not large enough to secure the amount of advertising that would keep the new service going, and enable it to maintain the high production values that it had set itself. The easiest way out of this situation was to increase the proportion of material that was popular in appeal, at the expense of some of the serious programming. By January 1957, for instance, ITV was showing ten giveaway quiz programmes each week (Table 4). There was a popular misconception amongst some critics, though, that during this so-called "retreat from culture" [23] the amount of American programmes that were transmitted was drastically increased. In fact, the proportion that was shown was less than many people were led to believe. The Independent Television Authority set a limit for non-British material at 14% of ITV's total transmission time, and the Authority's Annual Report and Accounts for 1956-57 indicates that the programme companies were not exceeding this limit. Indeed, in some years they kept below this level; the 1959-60 Annual Report and Accounts states that, in that year, "Imported films occupied 12.15% of total transmission time over the whole Network..."[24]

ATV's programming schedule for Sunday June 16th 1957 typified ITV's approach to attracting large audiences during its "retreat from culture".[25] The peak hours were taken up with three prominent American series, Hawk-Eye and the Last of the Mohicans (7.30 pm), I Love Lucy (8.00 pm), and Highway Patrol (8.30 pm). Following these at 9.00 pm was Sunday Night at the London Palladium. Despite being British, this had distinct transatlantic associations; its production values were comparable to those of Hollywood, it often featured American stars like Eddie Fisher or Bob Hope, and incorporated within it there was a British version of an American quiz show, Beat the Clock. The day was not without its more serious British programmes, How Does Your Garden Grow? (4.45 pm) and About Religion (7.00 pm), but these were not emphasised like those on the BBC. Moreover, even they had an element of populism that was missing from the BBC's serious material.

This example of ATV's peak-time scheduling serves to illustrate how crucial the concept of "flow"[26] seems to have been for ITV's policies. The evening's peak-time flow consisted of four equally "lightweight" programmes, the first three of which were of the same length and based on popular Hollywood genres. To create a sense of variation for audiences, the comedy was sandwiched between two less lighthearted programmes. These three American programmes were followed by a British variety entertainment with a substantial sense of Americanisation. The populist feeling that even permeates the earlier, more serious programmes (How Does Your Garden Grow and About Religion) adds to that conveyed by the lighter material, giving the complete day's programming an attractive, relatively undemanding appeal for potential viewers. This ATV schedule can be contrasted with the style of the BBC's

programming; for instance, a BBC schedule for a Sunday evening in September 1955 shows the peak hours starting at 7.25 pm with the News and Weather, followed by a musical play called Romance in Candlelight, and then Sunday Night Theatre presents The Scarlet Pimpernel.[27]

Another difference between the two channel's approaches was the fact that in some of ITV's publicity, the American origins of programmes were emphasised, subtly helping to increase the attraction of American values. In the ITV schedule referred to above,[23] the quiz show Beat the Clock stood out as "America's most popular audience participation show". Elsewhere, Dragnet was "An American crime show".[28] However, programmes' American origins were not always emphasised. Lassie and Roy Rogers (ABC), for example, provided spin-offs from the cinema, and their appeal with young audiences who would have seen the characters in Saturday cinema clubs was virtually guaranteed. A possible implication of this was that younger viewers grew up with an implicit knowledge of, and fascination for, American popular culture, and hence Americanisation in Britain was further reinforced.

The commercial aura of ITV's transmissions resulted from the fact that the channel's executives had to cater for popular taste in order to attract advertising revenue. In catering for popular taste, they also had to convey elements of the new affluent attitudes that had begun to take hold prior to ITV's first appearance. And, of course, by conveying these attitudes to large audiences, ITV reinforced and promoted affluence and consumerism. The ITV companies' success in capturing audiences for their programmes and consequently their advertisements, after the first few financially shaky years, cannot be denied. But for

some critics, and nominal moral leaders of British society, ITV's success was dubious, and its programming of material that consisted of endless images emphasising the glamour of conspicuous consumption was tacky, if not dishonest and corrupt.

Criticisms of ITV's programming policies and in particular its "retreat from culture" were concerned with the potential power and influence of television as a mass medium, and with the level of the new network's appeal. The size of the television audience increased dramatically during the 1950's, not least because the introduction of ITV seemed to set in motion a spiral effect; more people wanted to see the new channel, and this demand consequently helped to bring down the price of TV sets. ITV was capturing a larger proportion of this audience than the BBC (Table 1), and the increase in its potential impact between 1955 and 1963 can be seen in Table 5. What the commercial channel's detractors tended to ignore, though, was the fact that the BBC's more conservative television service did at least remain available for anyone who found the new channel tasteless or intellectually uninspiring.

It has to be said, however, that a television service offering programmes that displayed American-style values was the only alternative to the BBC's middle-class approach that was offered during the 1950's. If there had been a third channel that had ITV's popular appeal but not its "Americanism", the balance of the viewing figures in favour of Independent Television might have been upset. In consequence the Americanisation that affected aspects of British lifestyles and culture might have spread differently. This, however, is conjecture; and in any case, the values of attainment and consumption might still have spread in Britain simply because of the gradual growth of prosperity

and the increasing sophistication of advertising.

THE ITV APPROACH (II): THE PERSONALITY AS CONSUMER, AND THE CONSUMER AS PERSONALITY

ITV's personality system operated during the 1950's, as it still does today, in parallel with and conveying similar values to the star system in the cinema. The appeal of the two media thus overlapped, a situation enhanced by the fact that film stars were often featured on ITV as part of attempts to attract audiences. But the significance of film stars and TV personalities also differed for audiences, and has been convincingly characterised by John Langer thus;

> "Whereas the star system operates from the realms of the spectacular, the inaccessible, the imaginary, presenting the cinematic universe as 'larger than life', the personality system is cultivated almost exclusively as 'part of life'; whereas the star system always has the ability to place distance between itself and its audiences through its insistence on 'the exceptional', the personality system works directly to construct and foreground intimacy and immediacy; whereas contact with stars is unrelentingly sporadic and uncertain, contact with television personalities has regularity and predictability; whereas stars are always playing 'parts' emphasising their identities as 'stars' as much - perhaps even more than - the characters they play, television personalities 'play' themselves; whereas stars emanate as idealisations or archetypal expressions, to be contemplated, revered, desired, and even blatantly imitated, stubbornly standing outside the realms of the familiar and the routinised, personalities are distinguished for their representativeness, their typicality, their 'will to ordinariness', to be accepted, normalised, experienced as <u>familiar</u>."[29]

John Ellis also detects differences between the appeal of film stars and TV personalities, noting the "enigma of star paradox", the fact that stars are "at once ordinary <u>and</u> extraordinary, available for desire <u>and</u> unattainable..."[30] (My emphases.) Ellis suggests that it is this paradox, as well as "the resultant promise of cinema (of presence-absence)"[31] which

distinguishes the appeal of cinema from that of television. Elsewhere, he argues that the notoriety of TV personalities

> "... results from their fairly constant presence on the medium rather than their rarity; they are familiar rather than remote; they are present in the actuality of the television image rather than the photo effect of the cinema image; they activate no conflict of meanings and no real enigmas; they bear a fairly minimal relationship to the desire of the spectator, the subsidiary circulation of material about them is more concerned with discovering if there is a personality separate from that of the television role than it is with the paradox of the ordinary-but-extraordinary."[32]

Both Langer's and Ellis's arguments, however, seem incomplete, and the distinctions made, not only between the appeal of film stars and TV personalities but also between the experiences of cinema-going and TV-watching, do not seem entirely adequate. For example, Langer's suggestion regarding television personalities' "will to ordinariness" would seem to apply only to non-fiction personalities; and even if this is so, can it be safely argued, for instance, that Terry Wogan and Sir Robin Day share the same "will to ordinariness"? Also, does Alexis Colby, for example, really not activate any "conflict of meanings...(or).. ..real enigmas.." (Ellis) for any members of the TV audience, and do Angie Watts or Magnum P.I. really "bear a minimal relationship to the desire of (all) the spectator(s)" (Ellis) ? Much of what Langer and Ellis say is well-founded, but whilst the distinction between the <u>signification</u> of film stars and television personalities may hold true, and whilst film stars may be more durable, the differences in their <u>significance</u> seem to be far less clear-cut. Arthur Daley may not be known to audiences the world over, but does he necessarily mean less to his fans than Clint Eastwood does to his? And does the latter necessarily

command more awe and respect from his fans simply because he is a "Film Star", than Arthur Daley does from his? Langer and Ellis also both assert that whereas audiences tend to remember the names of film stars rather than the names of the characters they play, when it comes to television fictions the reverse is true.[33] However, this is not a universal rule. "Mike Baldwin" may be remembered rather than Johnny Briggs, but Larry Hagman comes to mind as easily as "J.R."; "Jane Fonda" may be more memorable than Bree Daniels or Kimberly Wells, but is "Clint Eastwood" any easier to recall than "Dirty Harry" or "The Man with No Name"?

Another point made by Ellis is that during a film, a "relationship of desire" is created "between spectator and star performer", and that occasionally, "the effects of desire outrun the effects of the fiction, producing cultism or fetishism."[34] Ellis implies that this does not - or cannot - occur between the TV spectator and TV personalities. However, it would seem that it did happen after ITV was introduced in 1955, and that a cult of personality resulted partly because of the extreme manner in which viewers were encouraged to identify with and subscribe to the values of attainment and consumerism. These values were already spreading by the mid-1950's because of the slow growth of affluence, but they were symbolised for ITV's viewers by the new channel's personalities, as well as by its advertisements and many of its programmes. It can be argued that ITV's success with audiences, and the fact that the companies continued to emphasise personalities and the values associated with them, is evidence that the cult of personality was subscribed to by the new channel's viewers. However, whilst this contention may seem justifiable, it is difficult to prove without recourse to far broader historical evidence relating to social and

economic trends in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that the cult of personality was both encouraged and subscribed to by the ITV companies and their executives, in the extreme emphasis that personalities were given in ITV's programmes and publicity material, and it is to this end that the remainder of this paper is devoted.

A cult of personality had emerged in American television by the late 1940's; American personalities, it has been said, "seemed to visit the individual couple's home, addressing them confidentially, and making the experience of television a social act around the hearth."[35] Social developments similar to those that had occurred in the United States also took place in Britain after the war, such as the expansion of suburbia and a stress on home-building and the raising of families, creating a huge demand for home-based entertainment with popular appeal.

A precedent for a British approach to commercial television, and for a personality system within it, actually existed in the form of the BBC's Light Radio Programme. Like the Corporation's television service, though, the personalities featured by the Light Programme, and the material it transmitted, had little inclination towards any sense of Americanisation. What the Light Programme <u>did</u> have, which ITV also aimed for, was popular appeal proven by large audiences. However, even though ITV could have modelled its own approach on the "Britishness" of the Light Programme, it was unlikely to do so. ITV wanted to determine a new television style, and in any case, the Light Programme represented "the opposition". A more likely role model for commercial TV would have been Radio Luxembourg, which offered

a plethora of light entertainment and a consistent featuring of stars from the worlds of film and popular music. The fact that it was an illicit source of entertainment, of course, only seems to have made it all the more popular with listeners.

To attract audiences so that advertisers would be encouraged to make use of the television medium, ITV transmitted programmes that conveyed the glamour of attainment in their production values (for example, in light entertainment shows), their goal orientations (in, for example, give-away quiz shows), and in the personalities who were featured. The values that were expressed had already been stimulated in audiences by American popular culture and by advertising seen elsewhere than on TV. Courtesy of the TV medium, personalities in both fictional and non-fictional programmes literally entered viewers homes, week in and week out. The regularity of these appearances broke down any sense of remoteness and distance, fostering a relationship of intimacy between personalities and audiences. This was intensified on ITV by the informal use of direct address in non-fiction programmes, which contrasted with the impersonal, aloof stance of many BBC presenters. We are told by the TV Times, for instance, that the "chief pleasure" of Hughie Green, compere of Double Your Money (Associated Rediffusion), "...is the feeling that he is visiting viewers in their own homes."[36] Even in ITV's serious programming, a sense of identification between viewers and the medium seems to have been encouraged to develop. Successful current affairs series like Granada's What the Papers Say and Associated Rediffusion's This Week drew their large audiences partly because the personality system and the informal approach enabled viewers to feel that they were being addressed on their own level rather than from above.

The BBC had its own personalities, such as Gilbert Harding and Lady Isobel Barnett, but what many of them lacked was popular appeal across class boundaries. The manner in which the BBC presented them, and the values expressed by the Corporation's transmissions - which had no commercial aims to fulfill - meant that a cult of personality which was comparable to that fed by ITV was not encouraged to develop. Whilst the BBC's own personality system may have been popular with its audiences, it was not pushed across with the same vigour as ITV's; to borrow John Ellis's term, it did not appeal to the same "cultism or fetishism." The Corporation gave home-grown talent extreme emphasis, and while a few American examples were used - for example, Amos'n'Andy[37] - the tone of the BBC's programming remained undeniably middle-class and "British" for quite some time after the introduction of competition. The BBC's image was not helped by the Radio Times, a dull magazine in comparison to the Independent Television guides, some of which were printed in colour on glossy paper. The Corporation's magazine contained more articles on topics such as Appeasement; A Retrospective View or The Story of Liverpool's Orchestra,[38] than material concerned with stars and personalities. In contrast, ITV guides included Hollywood gossip columns, features on personalities, and thorough promotion of the new channel's policies towards the use of star performers.

A comparison of typical copy from 1950's editions of the Radio and TV Times highlights the differences between the BBC's and ITV's approaches to the notion of personality.[39] The articles that are referred to both appeared weekly and, at a glance, seem similar, in that they both consist of snippets of news and gossip from the respective organisations' studios. However, closer

analysis reveals differences in format and emphasis. ITV's magazine, for example, even gives a sense of popular appeal to a section on Sir Kenneth Clark. Its graphic style is more adventurous than that of the Radio Times, and its focus on names and faces is more exuberant. The page from the Radio Times, on the other hand, features items on the French theatre, Lorant, and Music While You Drive. Space devoted to text far outweighs that given over to a small picture of Terry-Thomas and an even smaller one of the Canadian actress, Lois Maxwell.

On balance, ITV's magazines contained less material on Americans than they did on British personalities, just as only 14% of ITV's transmissions consisted of American programmes. But articles concerning the British show an identification of us with them, often making the British personalities seem modern and "Americanised". Most strikingly different from ITV magazines was the fact that Radio Times covers rarely featured film stars from either Hollywood or Britain. Television personalities were occasionally used, but only British ones. Most covers presented cultural figures or sporting subjects, such as the Dancers of the Soviet Army.[40] The BBC's programming showed that the Corporation's definition of entertainment bore little resemblance to that followed by Independent Television. For its own part, ITV proved that even if its own sense of "public service" was not "cultured" in middle- to high-brow terms like the BBC's, it was at least more democratic because of its greater popular appeal. ITV's light entertainment, for example, was arguably evidence of a degree of public service never previously achieved by the BBC, in that the channel was making popular American and British personalities who had previously only appeared in

expensive theatres, in films, and in gossip columns, more widely "available" to the public than ever before.

Simply because the Corporation was not a commercial channel did not mean that the Radio Times was prevented from carrying advertising material. However, the sense of materialism conveyed by advertising seen elsewhere was stunted in the Radio Times by the traditional, conservative tone of the magazine and the programme schedules contained within it. The individual's success, and his or her acquisition of consumer goods, were conveyed as natural and respectable phenomena for which the middle-classes, by virtue of their position in society, did not have to strive. Conversely, on ITV and in the new channel's publicity material, consumerism was expressed in a more Hollywood-inspired style as a glamorous ideal that had to be attained in order for the individual to achieve "success". ITV's personalities conveyed similar values to its advertisements, for example on the TV Times covers, which invariably showed personalities' faces. This was an approach that came directly from publicity techniques used in the cinema star system. The face allowed audiences to judge a personality's character. It made the personality attractive, either because the face was conventionally "handsome" or "pretty", or because it conveyed warmth and sensitivity or humour. The face also hinted at the personality's mood and outlook, and its different expressions often indicated his or her values or goal-orientations. Attainment was the message expressed most strongly by ITV's personalities, whether it was concerned with the acquisition of consumer durables or with the achievement of upward mobility to a new, more comfortable station in life. For example, a TV Times cover

featuring the grim, determined expression of Clint Walker, star of Cheyenne (Associated Rediffusion), seems to symbolise the need to attain; another cover, featuring a youthful, smiling, carefully-groomed Noele Gordon, summons up notions of the happiness of attainment.[41]

As has already been suggested, images of American stars in the ITV magazines rarely emphasised their status as being superior to that of British personalities, despite the enhanced glamour associated with Hollywood. This paralleled the ways in which the star system in the British cinema was promoted during the 1950's, and possibly reflected a peculiarly British sense of "anything you can do, we can do better". The ITV companies seem to have set out to firmly dispel any lingering notion among British audiences that home-grown talent was parochial or second-rate in comparison to American. In making attainment thoroughly identifiable with British as well as American personalities, ITV reinforced the affluent values that post-war prosperity was bringing closer to home for sections of the population. In the TV Times programming schedules, performers' American origins were not always emphatically stressed. This corresponded with the extent to which the origins of some programmes from the United States were given emphasis. For instance, Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz were sometimes promoted as "America's top billing TV comedy pair", but at other times they were not; also, Roy Rogers was only occasionally billed as the "King of the Cowboys".[42] Despite the attraction of American values, ITV was careful not to over-emphasise its use of programmes and personalities from the United States. Instead, it attached the values they conveyed to home-grown talent and programmes, and while it expressed a freshness not

seen on the comparatively staid BBC, it also set out to give the impression that "Americanism" was a stance that had been normal and widely accepted in Britain even before the growth of affluence.

The notion of "talent" fascinated ITV, which promoted the conviction that stars and personalities could be produced instantly from humble backgrounds. Quiz shows and also talent contests like ATV's Carroll Levis Show provided a route through which selected members of the TV audience could themselves achieve instant stardom and attainment - instant "personality" - with no talent other than the ability to answer a few questions. This "instant" process, in fact, bore similarity to the "rags to riches" and "overnight success" stories that were often identified with American popular mythology, in particular that of Hollywood stardom.[43] The idea was also conveyed that affluence could make one a "personality", allowing one to subscribe to the "glamorous" attainment and conspicuous consumption of the TV personality system. Courtesy of affluence, the ordinary individual's personality could parallel that of the television performer. Because they entered viewers' homes so regularly, TV personalities themselves took on elements of ordinariness. Whereas Hollywood talent and glamour had previously been made to seem remote, the cult of personality made them seem attainable for and relevant to the individual in his or her everyday life. So central were they to ITV's appeal, that they were even incorporated in comedy programmes featuring hapless, un-"glamorous" characters; for example, ATV's Arthur Haynes Show, which was given a weekly injection of "glamour" in the form of singer Aileen Cochrane. In a patronising manner, this enabled individuals who seemed distanced from Hollywood values because of

thir looks or aptitudes to identify with the cult of personality and its attendant materialism. The personality system placed "successful" individuals on a platform above viewers and therefore in a position of awe. The message conveyed by the cult of personality, was that personality was what one needed in order to "succeed", and that it was attainable through the acquisition of glamorous values, and the purchasing of consumer durables seen in the advertisements transmitted by ITV and printed in the TV Times.

It has been suggested, though, that the cult of personality had another, more subversive, function and this has been referred to by John Langer as the "reproduction of the ideological field".[44] For viewers, television personalities represented coherent identities in a diverse and chaotic universe of events. The combination of ordinary and extraordinary qualities led to a process of "embourgeoisement"[45], whereby humble TV audiences were eased into identifying with stars or personalities who were more "powerful" because of their success, their attainment, and their glamour. This identification thus helped to maintain the political and social status quo.

For example, when ITV began transmitting programmes devoted to the youth market in the late 1950's, it took pop stars with rebellious images and honed these down, making them more palatable for mixed mass audiences and giving rock and roll a degree of respectability. Cliff Richard, for instance, had originally been marketed as a British answer to Eddie Cochrane and Gene Vincent, and when he appeared on ITV, producers told him to "smoulder" for the cameras.[46] But as a TV Times cover shows, they also gave him a clean-cut and approachable television personality that would not encroach on the peace of viewers'

living rooms.[47] ITV could not allow room for elements that might disturb the channel's viewing figures and therefore its profitability. Of course, it also has to be said that outside television, in the rock music business, another aspect of the cult of personality could be seen developing which was based as much, if not more, on the appeal of waywardness and rebellion as it was upon wholesomeness.

Cliff Richard's appeal in the picture referred to above almost matches that of Pat Boone on another TV Times cover.[48] Boone was an American in the respectable "boy next door" mould. This image was also seen in such areas of ITV's programming as American western series, for instance Clint Eastwood in Rawhide. What "boyishness" symbolised for some sections of the audience was goodness or innocence, plus a strength of character that could not be corrupted by success or consumerism. Female equivalents - that is, the "girl next door" - were also promoted, like Ruth Trouncer in ATV's The Larkins. By conveying these values, ITV, like Hollywood, attempted to create a false sense of purity or even virginity for itself which, however, did nothing to gloss over the channel's commercial consumerist appeal.

John Langer has suggested that TV personalities represent "coherence" for their viewers,[49] but this view is actually questionable. For example, the scatty Lucille Ball in I Love Lucy, or the antics of The Larkins, could not be seen as conveying any sense of emotional stability. Yet at the same time, either of these examples could be seen as the apotheosis of the television personality system; given that "coherence" in one's life is arguably elusive, these characters, representing chaos at the centre of a chaotic universe, were thus highly "realistic".

The images pushed across in I Love Lucy were typical personifications of American-style goal-orientations and values. Lucy's husband Ricky was presented as being devoted to his career and, more than anything else, wanting the chance to "make it" in Hollywood. Despite her scattiness, Lucy also had ambitions, such as the continual improvement of her home. There was a conflict between the pair's values - one wanting to move to a more glamorous area, and the other wanting to stay put and improve upon what had already been attained. But Lucy and Ricky were always happy and they always got on well together; they shared the value of attainment, and in the process they were also shown having a lot of fun. Their infectious personalities and outlooks were made attractive for viewers, who were never encouraged to question the values that were expressed. In this way, the pleasures of traditional home and family life, and also of a successful life at work, were reinforced for British TV audiences. Traditional attitudes towards male and female roles were maintained, despite the fact that during the 1950's more women were going out to work than previously.

A similar effect was achieved through British series. Domestic life was stressed in such programmes as The Larkins and the quiz series Keep It In The Family (ATV). Publicity articles often emphasised the home and family lives of personalities away from the TV screen, for example in a piece on John and Genine Witty.[50] Implicit in the approach to personality taken by such features was the consumerist notion that the success of the individual's domestic life depended upon the acquisition of goods and privileges that brought comfort and pleasure.

The tone of some TV Times articles was comparable to that of advertising matter alongside which they appeared, because the

glamorous values that were promoted tended to overlap. An article about Sylvia Sims[51] describes her success, and appears opposite an advertisement for the Midland Bank which incorporates a photograph of similarly "successful" individuals. Personalities were sometimes featured in advertisements, making the goods and services they were promoting even more desirable. This technique was also occasionally used in the Radio Times, although its pages were often devoid of any advertising material whatsoever.[52]

Within the programming schedules in the TV Times, advertising took on another aspect. Some advertisements in the TV Times took up a similar amount of copy space to that occupied by details of individual programmes; for instance, a page from one issue has information on the show Chelsea at Nine sandwiched between two advertisements of the same size, both promoting consumer goods.[53] The glamour attached to owning the goods overlaps with that expressed by the stars and personalities featured in the variety show.

A similar situation was evident with ITV's actual transmissions. Advertisements were screened at regular intervals, thus punctuating the flow of programmes with short periods devoted entirely to consumerism and the winning over of the buying public. These values overlapped with those expressed in many programmes, and thus the commercial atmosphere of the channel was intensified. Short British or American programmes of half-an-hour in length were common, because they ensured that audiences were always fresh for the spot advertisements that came between them, and for the new programmes that followed.

Whether it was publicity for personalities or for products,

the values expressed in advertising were crucial in ITV's attempts to attract audiences, and the way advertising was used helped to differentiate the new channel from the BBC. The channel's policies were so cleverly devised with commercial aims and consumer-oriented appeal in mind, that the values conveyed by its programmes, its personalities, and its advertising, both on the screen and in its magazines, all merged together.

CONCLUSION

Although ITV was popular with large audiences, it would be wrong to assume that the affluence and Americanisation which it helped to foster changed attitudes in Britain towards social class. Throughout the 1960's, interviews and opinion polls in Britain indicated that up to 90% of the population still recognised the existence of distinct social classes.[54]

The notion conveyed by ITV, that the quality of life and experience was dependent upon attainment and consumerism, did not escape censure. It has been forcefully argued that the 1950's were an "Age of Illusion"[55], in which Prime Minister Macmillan played the role of a magician, using the new-found affluence and relative material comfort of the decade to distract the attention of the masses away from reality. This bears similarities with the view cited earlier, of the television personality as a "reproducer of the ideological field". Concern about the negative effect of affluence was also expressed by, for example, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the so-called "Angry Young Men" during the later 1950's. And as early as 1956, the year after the commercial channel had first flickered across Britain's

television screens, Richard Hoggart had condemned the growing influence of Americanisation, in his critique of the erosion of working-class culture, The Uses of Literacy.

Fears about the potentially damaging influence that television could wield were most clearly conveyed by the Pilkington Report on Broadcasting, published in 1962, which damned ITV and its style of programming. The Pilkington Committee's main bone of contention was the fact that the ITV companies were making vast profits by exploiting what it regarded as low, even prurient taste. Its "disquiet about television", it said,

> "...derived from an assessment... that the power of the medium to influence and persuade is immense; and from a strong feeling... that very often the use of the power suggested a lack of awareness of, or concern about, the consequences.
>
> ... (F)or the sake of appeal, television (said its critics) portrayed too often a world in which the moral standards normally accepted in society were either ignored or flouted..."[56]

The committee made no allusions to ITV's personality system, but it expressed support for the Independent Television Authority's limiting of the amount of non-British material shown on ITV, stating that

> "The effect on the British way of life of much American material - especially during peak time - is to be condemned."[57]

No-one, of course, clearly defined the so-called "British way of life"; no-one asked ITV's audiences exactly what it was in the new channel's offerings that gave them pleasure, or whether they watched ITV merely because it was there. The Pilkington Committee

set its own standards, in line with "tradition", and took little account of popular taste.

Ultimately, the Pilkington Report came down in favour of the BBC's policies, recommending that the Corporation should be granted a licence to begin a third British television channel. The committee also put forward a recommendation that ITV should be re-structured so that its purpose of attracting advertisers in order to survive could be reconciled with the need to provide a television broadcasting service that was balanced in the range of programmes it transmitted and the values it conveyed.[58] But the tone of the Pilkington Committee's criticisms of ITV, and its bias in favour of the BBC's policies, were perhaps unfair and unjustifiable in the light of ITV's popularity with large audiences and its record with serious programming.

Although before transmissions began ITV executives had not found out exactly what the public wanted, they had recognised the appeal that American-style personalities and programmes would probably have because of the public's apparent enthusiasm for American popular culture. They were not obliged to transmit such material, but they did so nevertheless, because their collective backgrounds and experience in popular entertainment told them that such material would attract audiences and therefore advertisers. Arguably, the attitudes and outlooks that ITV exploited were, in any case, spreading in Britain even before the new channel was introduced. This was realised by those who had commercial interests in ITV, and the channel's programme planners formulated the "ITV style" accordingly.

In a Western capitalist society like Britain in the 1950's, where affluence was beginning to cause values to focus on the

individual's ability to attain, it was, perhaps, hardly surprising that personalities became important aspects of a commercial television network that was aiming for mass appeal. ITV flooded television screens with personalities from both sides of the Atlantic, whose effect on audiences paralleled that of advertisements, tempting the individual to use his or her affluence to literally "buy" the values associated with glamour, attainment, and conspicuous consumption. Thus the cult of personality, and the sense that the individual needed to attain in order to achieve "success" and social mobility, was intensified by the new channel; and it was ITV's transmissions expressing these attitudes that contributed most to the new channel's important role in the growth of television, by the early 1960's, from an élite novelty into a mass medium.

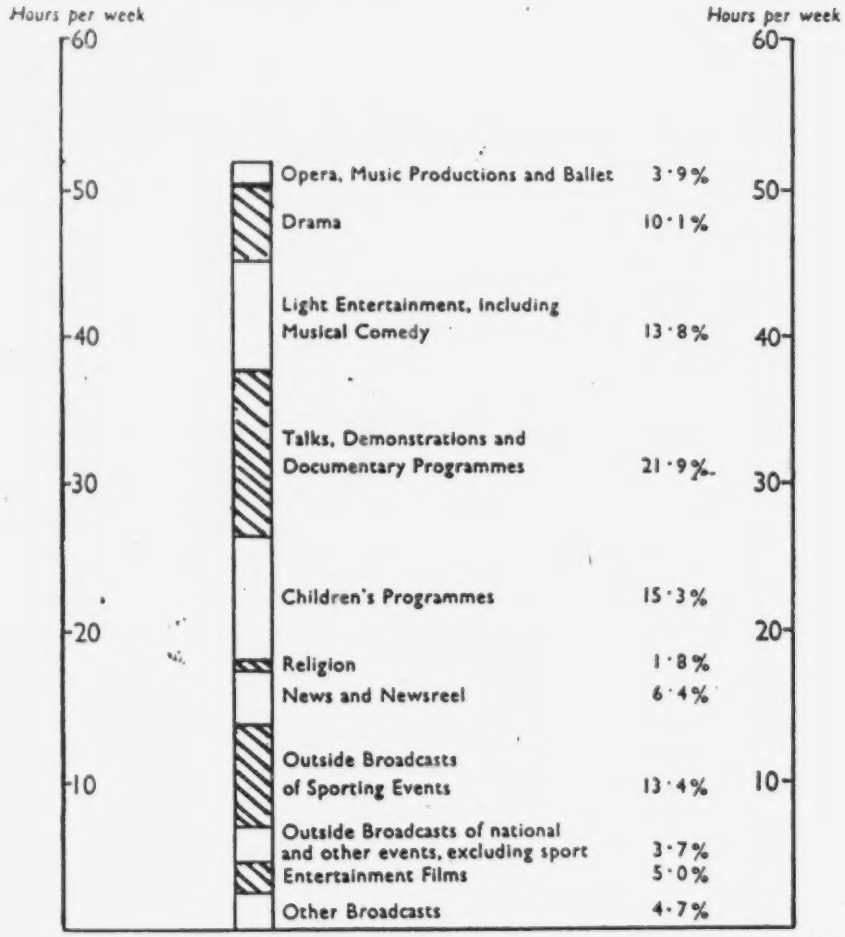
Table 1 THE AUDIENCES OF THE BBC AND ITV, 1955-1960

		ITV%	BBC%	
1955	Oct - Dec	57	43	
1956	Jan - March	64	36	
	April - June	65	35	
	July - Sept	69	31	
	Oct - Dec	71	29	
1957	Jan - March	75	25	
	April - June	75	25	
	July - Sept	76	24	
	Oct - Dec	73	27	
1958	Jan - March	71	29	
	April - June	71	29	
	July - Sept	74	26	
	Oct - Dec	74	26	
1959	Jan - March	71	29	
	April - June	72	28	
	July - Sept	71	29	
	Oct - Dec	68	32	
1960	Jan - March	67	33	
	April - June	67	33	
	July	66	34	
	August	67	33	
	September 1st week	51	49	) Olympic
	" 2nd "	57	43	) Games
	" 3rd "	71	29	Period
	" 4th "	70	30	
	" 5th "	72	28	
	October 1st "	69	31	
	" 2nd "	72	28	

Source - TAM Survey (Television Audience Measurement Ltd.)

- reproduced in the Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, 1960 (HMSO, Cmnd 1753, 1962), Volume 1, Appendix E, p. 473.

Table 2 ANALYSIS OF BBC PROGRAMMING, APRIL 1956 - MARCH 1957



Source - BBC Annual Report and Accounts, 1956-57 (HMSO, London)

Table 3 PERCENTAGE OF PEAK VIEWING HOURS (7.00 - 10.30 pm) DEVOTED TO SERIOUS PROGRAMMING, NOT INCLUDING DRAMA

	BBC	ITV
Jan - June 1958	35%	9%
" 1959	33⅓%	11½%
" 1960	33⅓%	9½%

Source - Collated from statistics quoted in the Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, 1960 (HMSO, Cmnd 1753, 1962), p.42 and p.61

Table 4 GIVEAWAY QUIZ PROGRAMMES TRANSMITTED EACH WEEK BY JANUARY 1957 DURING ITV'S "RETREAT FROM CULTURE"

(Networked to the following stations;
L : London, M : Midlands, N : North)

Programme	Company	Stations	Day & Time
"Beat The Clock" (Tommy Trinder)	ATV	L M N	Sunday 8 pm
"Make Up Your Mind" (David Jacobs)	Granada	L M N	Monday 7.30
"Two For The Money" (Bernard Braden)	AR	L M N	Monday 9.30
"Do You Trust Your Wife?" (Bob Monkhouse)	ATV	L M N	Tues. 7.30
"Double Your Money" (Hughie Greene)	AR	L M N	Wed. 7.30
"Spot The Tune"	Granada	L M N	Thurs. 7.30
"Take Your Pick" (Michael Miles)	AR	L M N	Friday 7.30
"Lucky Spot Quiz"	AR	L M N	Friday 10.15
"64,000 Question" (Jerry Desmonde)	ATV	L M N	Sat. 8.30
"State Your Case" (McDonald Hobley)	ABC	M N	Sat. 9.45

Source - Bernard Sendall, Independent Television in Britain, Volume One (Macmillan, London, 1982), p.348-349

Table 5 NUMBER OF HOMES WITH FACILITIES FOR RECEIVING ITV TRANSMISSIONS, 1955 - MARCH 1963

At end of	Thousands	% of TV Homes	% of All Homes
1955	495	30.8	12.5
1956	2,656	51.5	25.8
1957	4,684	69.2	39.6
1958	6,540	75.4	46.6
1959	8,605	80.8	55.2
1960	10,292	87.2	65.4
1961	11,282	88.3	68.9
1962	12,305	90.7	73.6
March 1963 (estimate)	12,405	90.7	73.8

Source - TAM Survey (Television Audience Measurement Ltd.)

- quoted in ITA Annual Report and Accounts, 1962-63 (HMSO, London)

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1 The term "Age of Austerity" has been used by numerous critics and historians to refer to the late 1940's and early 1950's, perhaps most notably by Michael Sissons and Philip French (eds.), in The Age of Austerity, Penguin Books, London, 1964.

2 Christopher Booker, The Neophiliacs, Fontana/Collins, London, 1970, p.33.

3 Quoted by Bernard Sendall, Independent Television in Britain, Volume One, Macmillan, London, 1982, p.372. In a footnote (p.386), Sendall states that he has evidence proving that the investigation referred to in the Daily Telegraph had the approval of the BBC Board of Management.

4 The exceptions include; Bernard Sendall (ibid); Peter Black, The Mirror in the Corner, Hutchinson, London, 1972; Jack Tinker, The Television Barons, Quartet Books, London, 1980; Joan Bakewell and Nicholas Garnham, The New Priesthood, Allen Lane, London, 1970. Broader studies which refer to ITV's "Americanism" include Christopher Booker (ibid, e.g. p.37 and p.103); and Anthony Sampson, The Changing Anatomy of Britain, Coronet Books/Hodder and Stoughton, Sevenoaks, 1983, e.g. p.448.

5 The exception was Selwyn Lloyd, who, in his Minority Report (Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1949, HMSO London, Cmnd 8116, Jan. 1951, p.210-210), stated that "The evil lies in the system, the control by a monopoly of this great medium of expression. It involves the concentration of great power in the hands of a few men and women, and the tendency to create a uniform pattern of thought and culture." (Minority Report para. 26)

6 Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1949, ibid, paras. 182-186

7 Ibid, paras. 376-377

8 For references to the interests of commercial organisations in the new channel, see, for example, H.H. Wilson, Pressure Group -- The Campaign for Commercial Television, Secker and Warburg, London, 1961, p.81-83.

9 Among writers who have alluded to the broader context of Britain's relations with the USA during the 1950's, is Anthony Sampson, ibid, p.465.

10 Memorandum on the Report of the Broadcasting Committee, 1949 HMSO London, 1951-52, Cmnd 8550, XXV, 25, para. 7.

11 Broadcasting Policy, HMSO London, 1953, Cmnd 9005, para. 7; "...(T)he Government has come to the conclusion that it is desirable to strengthen the controlling powers of (the new system) by making it a public corporation, which would own and operate the transmitting stations and other suitable fixed assets (renting from the Post Office any necessary connecting links between stations) and would hire its facilities to privately financed companies who would provide programmes and draw revenue from advertisements. Such an arrangement has the advantage of offering adequate scope for the participation of private enterprise and at the same time of ensuring effective control..."

12 Ibid, para. 6.

13 Television Act, 1954, HMSO London, 2 and 3 Eliz. II,Ch. 55; Section 4 para. 1,and Sections 1 - 2.

14 Ibid, Section 3, paras. 1(b) and 1(d).

15 Howard Thomas, With An Independent Air, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, London, 1977, p.125, p.144, and p.147.

16 Quoted in Jack Tinker, ibid, p.155.

17 Figures quoted by Bernard Sendall, ibid, p.292.
Source - ITA Annual Report and Accounts, 1961-62, HMSO London.

18 For instance, as Bernard Sendall notes (ibid, p.167), during 1955-60 ATV and Associated Rediffusion lost £3 million between them after a total outlay of £8.5 million. Advertisers were proving harder to win over to the TV medium than expected, and consequently it was expensive and uneconomical for each ITV company to produce and present only its own programmes. Sendall goes on to describe how a simple answer to this problem was operated so ruthlessly that it virtually eradicated competition between the Big Four ITV companies and the smaller regional companies that opened up, like Tyne Tees Television. The attempts of the lesser organisations to assert distinctive regional styles were thus virtually foiled.

The Big Four agreed to share out each evening's viewing time and transmit each other's programmes to the entire ITV network. By so doing, each programme contractor was able to meet the cost of its productions by selling them to the other companies. All of the advertising revenue accrued by the Big Four in their own areas was straight profit, and this was the basis of the huge amounts made by the main ITV companies after 1958. (Sendall, ibid, p.303-306.) The network system resulted in the creation of what Sendall refers to as "The New Monopoly" (ibid, p.291), whereby the smaller ITV companies were unable to wield much influence at meetings of the Network Committee. It can, I think, be argued that the new monopoly was comparable to that previously held by the BBC, except in that ITV aimed to attract mass audiences.

19 See, for example, BBC Annual Report and Accounts, 1956-57, HMSO London, p.8.

20 BBC Annual Report and Accounts, 1958-59, HMSO London, p.46,50,& 77

21 Quoted by Robin Day, Day By Day - A Dose of my own Hemlock, Kimber and Co., London, 1975, p.181.

22 Quoted in Edward Buscombe (ed.), Granada - The First Twenty-Five Years, British Film Institute, London, 1979, p.25.

23 The ITA itself referred to the policies of the ITV companies as a "retreat from culture" in its Annual Report and Accounts, 1955-56, HMSO London, p.13.

24 ITA Annual Report and Accounts, 1956-57, p.14, and 1959-60, p. 21, HMSO London.

25 TV Times, London edition, Vol.6 no.85, 14.06.57, p.12-13

26 See Raymond Williams, Television - Technology and Cultural Form, Fontana/Collins, London, 1974, Chapter 4.

27 Radio Times, 18.09.55, p.14.

28 TV Times, London edition, Vol.1 no.2, 30.09.55, p.35

29 John Langer, Television's 'Personality System, in MEDIA, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY, Academic Press, London, Vol. 3 no. 4, Oct. 1981, p.351-366

30 John Ellis, Visible Fictions, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982, p.108 and p.91.

31 Ellis, ibid, p.108

32 Ibid, p.107

33 Ellis, ibid, p.102-104; and Langer, ibid, p.359. Langer here seems to contradict himself, since on p.355 he has stated that "...whereas stars are always playing 'parts' emphasising their identity as 'stars'..., television personalities 'play' themselves..." In view of what he says on p.359, it can be assumed that on p.355 Langer is referring to non-fiction TV personalities.

34 Ellis, ibid, p.108

35 Michael Pye and Linda Myles, The Movie Brats, Faber, 1979, p.18

36 TV Times, London edition, Vol9 no.111, 13.12.57, p.33

37 Radio Times, 16.09.55, p.50

38 Radio Times, 03.08.56, p.3-4

39 Radio Times, 22.06.56, p.6 ; and TV Times, London edition, Vol.11 no.138, 20.06.58, p.4-5

40 Radio Times, 29.06.56

41 TV Times, London edition, Vol. 11. no.135, 30.05.58, and Vol.6 no.66, 01.02.57

42 TV Times, London edition, Vol.1 no.2, 30.09.55, p.25, and Vol.6 no.85, 14.06.57, p.12

43 Colin MacInnes's novel, Absolute Beginners, published in 1959, refers to the instant fame and success promised by some ITV programmes. A TV personality, nick-named 'Call-me-Cobber' by the novel's narrator, casts his eye over the inhabitants of a Soho drinking den and announces, "Today... each woman, man, and child in the United Kingdom can be made into a personality, a star. Whoever you are - and I repeat, whoever - we can put you in front of cameras and make you live for millions." (Penguin edition, London, 1986, p.78)

44 Langer, ibid, p.362

45 See, for example, Langer, ibid p.353-355, re. the process of "embourgeoisement" set in motion by film stars, and continued and reinforced by television personalities.

46 Interview with Cliff Richard on Wogan, BBC 1, April 1984.

47 TV Times, London edition, Vol.13 no.162, 05.12.58

48 TV Times, London edition, Vol.5 no.61, 28.12.56

49 Langer, ibid, p.357

50 TV Times, London edition, Vol.1 no.8, 11.11.55, p.8

51 TV Times, London edition, Vol.13 no.153, 03.10.58, p.12-13

52 e.g. Radio Times, 10.08.56, p.38

53 TV Times, London edition, Vol.13 no.162, 05.12.58, p.29

54 Quoted in Arthur Marwick, British Society Since 1945, Penguin, London, 1982, p.158

55 V. Bogdanor and R. Skidelsky (eds.), The Age of Affluence, Macmillan, London, 1970, p.7

56 Report of the Committee on Broadcasting, 1960, HMSO London, Cmnd 1753, 1962, para. 81

57 Ibid, para. 333

58 Ibid, paras. 901-902 and 568-579

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